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The Preparatory Session of the Sixth All-China Labor Congress (Ti Liu T'zu Ch'uan Kuo Lao Tung Ta Hui 第六次全國勞動大會)

1. The Preparatory Session of the Sixth All-China Labor Congress was opened in Harbin on 31 July 1948 with LIU Ning-i, Chairman of the Congress Preparatory Committee, presiding. LI Hsieh-po, Secretary-General of the Congress Preparatory Committee, first made a report on the past functions of the Preparatory Committee. The following is a summary of the major points of LI's report:

Originally it was planned to call the Liberated Area Congress of Employees' and Laborers' Delegates (LACELD) (Chieh Fang Ch'u Chih Kung Tai Piao Ta Hui 解放區職工代表大會) in Yen-an in September 1945; the Preparatory Committee for this congress had been formed by the delegates of the various general labor unions of the Liberated Areas and was organized in Yen-an in April 1945. TENG Fa (滕 發) was chairman of this committee; since TENG's death in April 1946, LIU Ning-i has been Chairman of the committee. Because of the Japanese surrender which forced the committee to be active in various new areas which the Chinese Communists occupied ahead of the Kuomintang forces, the convocation of the LACELD was postponed. Finally, in March 1948 the Preparatory Committee notified the various labor unions of the Liberated Areas to prepare for the All-Liberated Areas Congress of Employees' and Laborers' Delegates.²

According to the committee's announcement, this congress was to be held in Harbin on 10 June 1948. Because of requests from CHU Hsueh-fan and the Shanghai, Tientsin and other underground "democratic labor unions" in the then Kuomintang-controlled areas to send delegates of their unions to attend the congress, the date for the congress was again postponed to 1 August 1948 in order to allow sufficient time for the underground delegates of the various unions to arrive in Harbin. As the congress then was not limited only to delegates of the Liberated Areas, LIU Ning-i, CHU Hsueh-fan and various other leaders of the "democratic labor unions" suggested that the title for the congress be changed to the Sixth All-China Labor Congress; this suggestion was approved by the Preparatory Committee on 30 July 1948.

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2. After LI Hsieh-po finished presenting the above report, the new name for the congress was passed in the preparatory session of the congress. The Presidium of the Congress of 34 members and the agenda for the congress were also passed in the preparatory session. As for the agenda, a few key members of the Presidium prepared things ahead of time and then presented them to the members for "passing," thus making approval by the members simply a formality.³

Chronological Summary of the Sessions of the Sixth All-China Labor Congress

3. The opening session of the Sixth All-China Labor Congress took place on 1 August 1948 in Harbin with 504 labor delegates attending. These included delegates from North, East, Northeast, Northwest and Central China (the geographical divisions applied to China by the CCP), the Kwangtung-Kwangsi and other Liberated Areas, the labor delegates (mostly CCP underground personnel responsible for fomenting strikes and recruiting personnel) from Shanghai, Tientsin, Wuhan and other Kuomintang-controlled cities and municipalities, the labor delegates of railroads, mines, military installations, electric installations, weaving industries and other so-called productive enterprises (Ch'an Yeh Pu Men 產業部門), the delegates of the Liberated Areas Employees' and Laborers' General Union (Chieh Pang Ch'u Chih Kung Tsung Hui 解放區職工總會, the association led by CHU Hsueh-fan), and the various "democratic labor unions" in the Kuomintang-controlled areas.
4. In addition to the 504 labor delegates, others who attended the opening session included LO Jung-huan (羅榮桓), Assistant Secretary of the Chinese Communist Northeast Central Politburo and concurrently Deputy Political Commissar of the Northeast Military Zone (as of February 1948, Political Commissar of the Peiping-Tientsin Front Command (Headquarters) under General LIN Piao), LIN Feng (林楓), Chairman of the Northeast Administrative Council, FENG Chung-yun (馮仲雲), Chairman of Sungchiang Province, CHU Ch'i-wen (朱其文), mayor of Harbin (as of November 1948, mayor of Mukden), and the representatives of the "soldiers of the Northeast People's Liberation Army, the farmers, women and youth of the Northeast."
5. The session opened with all members singing The Internationale. Then the following "Honorary Presidium" was passed:
- Stalin, "leader of the labor class of the whole world"
MAO Tse-tung, "leader of the Chinese labor class and of all the Chinese people"
CHU Te, Commander-in-Chief of the Chinese People's Liberation Army
Kuznetsov, Chairman of the USSR All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (AUCCTU)
Louis Saillant, Secretary-General of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU)
- The composition of the "Honorary Presidium" and its passage were simply a formality. Actually all projects and resolutions were formulated or decided upon beforehand by the Presidium of the Congress before presenting them to the delegates present for agreement or passage, and this passage was always accomplished without argument and the delegates simply followed the lead of the Presidium.
6. Following the passage of the "Honorary Presidium," LI Li-san, representing the Presidium of the Congress, delivered the opening speech which lasted three hours. The major points of his address, in summary, were as follows:

The past five All-China Labor Congresses were held under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. It was because of the guidance of the Chinese Communist Party that the Chinese labor class started their revolutionary struggle and revolutionary labor movements which have resulted in the present achievements of "political rights and liberation." It was because of the "revolutionary military strength of CHU Te" and the "national leadership of MAO Tse-tung" that the Chinese labor class has the present chance of holding the Sixth All-China

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Labor Congress in the Liberated Municipality of Harbin. It was because of the assistance of the labor classes of other nations of the world and "the help of the people of the USSR and that of the Soviet Red Army which demolished the Japanese troops and liberated the Northeast" that the Chinese people were freed from Japanese oppression. Therefore, the Sixth All-China Labor Congress here represents the national labor class of China in a salute to CHU Te, MAO Tse-tung and Stalin. The mission of the Sixth All-China Labor Congress is to discuss how to increase the unity among the labor class in suppressing the world reactionary force led by American imperialism and how to unite with all "democratic classes of the nation" in completely demolishing the Kuomintang reactionary groups and establishing an independent, liberal, democratic and unified new China as pointed out by Chairman MAO Tse-tung.

7. After LI Li-san finished his report and the applause subsided, the Presidium members spent about half an hour in reading the telegrams and letters of congratulations sent to the congress from the CCP Politburo, the USSR AUCCTU, the WFTU, the French Employees and Laborers Joint Union, the "democratic" labor unions of America, the Thailand Employees' and Laborers' General Union, the overseas Chinese labor unions, the China Labor Association, the Democratic League, Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee and other minority "democratic" parties.
8. The Political Commissars LO Jung-huen and LIN Feng successively gave speeches encouraging the laborers to cooperate closely and to work together with the People's Liberation Army in liberating the whole of China. FENG Chung-yun, CHU Ch'i-wen and other "guests" of the Congress also gave some words of encouragement and congratulations. The session ended with the passage of a motion to send telegrams of salute to Stalin, MAO Tse-tung and CHU Te as drafted by the Presidium.
9. The second session took place on 2 August 1948 and the highlight of this meeting was a lengthy political report by KAO Kang (高 崗), representative of the Chinese Communist Party's Northeast Central Bureau (Chung Kung Tung Pei Chung Yang Chu 中央東北中央局). KAO presented the "historical facts" regarding how the Chinese labor class had struggled under different political characteristics of the present national and international situation into "democratic" and "reactionary" and concluded that it is "the duty of the labor class to unite with all democratic classes of the world for the overthrowing of American imperialism and the Kuomintang reactionary regime."
10. One of the most significant events of the entire Congress occurred during the third session 3 August 1948 when CH'EN Yun utilized the time of the entire day's session to deliver a lengthy speech on the "Present Aims of the Chinese Employee-laborer (Trade Union) Movement." The content of CH'EN's speech was actually the same as that of the "Resolutions" presented by LI Li-san on 17 August (see paragraphs 17 and 19). Like the Resolutions themselves as well as LI Li-san's presentation speech, the tone of CH'EN's address was violently anti-Kuomintang and anti-American and the points of his entire speech followed the Moscow party line. It is significant that this speech was delivered by CH'EN Yun, who is a member of the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee and Central Politburo and that the Resolutions as such were presented by another ardent international Communist, LI Li-san. In conclusion, CH'EN stated that in order to realize these aims there must be established the China National Union of Trade Unions (CNUU).
11. On 4 and 5 August 1948 the delegates at the congress were divided into small groups to discuss the reports made by KAO Kang and CH'EN Yun. There was no argument on any points KAO or CH'EN suggested.
12. On 6 and 9 August sessions were resumed with LI Li-san, CHU Hsueh-fan and others voicing their reasons for supporting KAO's and CH'EN's reports. At the end of the 9 August session, all delegates voted to give complete support to all points in KAO's and CH'EN's reports.
13. The 10 August session and part of the session of the 11th were used by CHU Hsueh-fan in reporting on the employees' and laborers' movement in the Kuomintang-controlled areas. As had LI Li-san, KAO Kang and CH'EN Yun, CHU put the struggle

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against American imperialism and against the reactionary Kuomintang regime as the aim of the fight of the employees and laborers in the Kuomintang-controlled areas. Then CHU related how the "Kuomintang reactionary groups controlled and slaughtered the laborers, how the laborers suffered under the Kuomintang economic collapse, and how they carried out their heroic anti-CHIANG and anti-American struggle." Finally he mentioned the "historical facts" regarding how the Chinese Labor Association (Chung Kuo Lao Tung Hsieh Hui 中國勞動協會) was established and how it joined the Chinese Communists in January 1946 to realize its similar aims. In the 11 August session, OU-YANG Tsu-jun (歐陽祖燭), Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Establishment of the Shanghai (Communist) Labor Union, gave his own report and supported the statements of CHU Hsueh-fan. OU-YANG listed all the labor strikes and labor struggles since the Japanese surrender in 1945 and concluded that these were led by the "democratic labor unions" (underground) for the purpose of carrying out the anti-CHIANG and anti-American movements.

14. In the 12 August session LIU Ming-i reported on the international trade union movement. He first discussed the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU); then he mentioned how TENG Fa had represented the Liberated Area Labor Union and CHU Hsueh-fan had represented the Chinese Labor Association in joining the September 1945 Conference of the WFTU in Paris, thus establishing the link with international labor leaders and international trade unions. LIU stressed the following:

"The world democratic strength has been united under the leadership of Stalin and other Communist leaders of the world. To be faithful to the international proletariat means to be faithful to one's own race! The expansion of the international trade union strength will never cease if we depend on the assistance of the democratic trade unions of the USSR and other democratic nations of the world, upon the national people's strength and the overseas Chinese labor strength, and upon the victory of internationalism. The way to peace and democracy is to support the WFTU, to strengthen the CNUU and to cooperate closely with the labor class of all nations for the formation of a united anti-American front."

15. In the 13 August 1948 session LI Li-san announced the Regulations governing the CNUU. LI explained that because of the latest changes in the situation in China, new missions were now put before the labor movement. In order to fulfill these new missions, a change in the form of the organization of the labor unions was needed. Strictly speaking, different productive enterprise trade unions should be the units or members of the CNUU. All productive enterprise trade unions existing at present, all vocational unions and all local labor unions should be members of the CNUU. Anyone who works in any enterprise, school or organ and who depends on the salary or wages from his manual or mental labor as the major source of his income should join as a member of the respective trade union which union is in turn a member of the CNUU.⁴
16. There were no meetings on 14 and 15 August. In the 16 August session, the Presidium's proposal was "passed" to send a telegram to the overseas Chinese in the name of the Sixth All-China Labor Congress. This cable expressed sympathy for the overseas Chinese who "are oppressed overseas by the reactionary Kuomintang" and heartily welcomed the overseas laborers and personnel of the industrial and commercial circles among the overseas Chinese to come to the "liberated areas and participate in the Communist industrial reconstruction."⁵
17. In the session of 17 August, 1948 LI Li-san represented the Presidium of the Congress in announcing the "Draft Resolutions Concerning the Employee-Laborer (Trade Union) Movement." These were passed with applause. These resolutions were actually the same in content as CH'EN Yun's report on the "Present Aims of the Chinese Employee-Laborer (Trade Union) Movement." (See paragraph 10.)

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18. In the session of 20 August 1948 the election of members for the Executive Committee of the China National Union of Trade Unions took place. As "suggested by the Presidium of the Congress," 53 members and 20 alternate members for the Executive Committee were elected. As "suggested by the Presidium," the motion was passed to leave eight additional seats on the Executive Committee -- six for members and two for alternates -- for leaders of trade unions of "areas to be liberated (by the CCP) between the time of the present meeting of the Congress and the convocation of the next All-China labor Congress." (See paragraphs 23 and 25 for a complete list and brief biography of the present members of the Executive Committee.)
19. In the 21 August session LI Li-san summarized the points of his own reports and of those made by KAO Kang and CH'EN Yun on the present aims of the Chinese Employee-Laborer (Trade Union) Movement and made these into final resolutions of the Congress; these of course were "passed" unaltered. These "resolutions" were not the result of discussions of the proposals made by the delegates to the congress but rather were the unification of the ideas and principles previously set up by a few key members of the Presidium, CCP members who are ardent leaders and advocates of the international labor movement.⁶
20. The closing ceremony for the Congress took place on 22 August 1948. Chairman LIU Ning-i first announced the formal establishment of the China National Union of Trade Unions, then read aloud the names of the members of the Executive Committee. Following this, LI Li-san represented the Executive Committee in encouraging the "unity of all employees and laborers under the banner of MAO Tse-tung;" CHU Hsueh-fan then echoed LI's words. Then General LIN Piao represented the Chinese Communist Party's Northeast Central Bureau (Chung Kung Tung Pei Chung Yang Chu 中共東北中央局) and gave a short speech, encouraging the increase of all production, especially the production of ammunition in the Liberated Areas and the protection of all machines in the Kuomintang-controlled areas so that they would not be destroyed by the Kuomintang before or during the arrival of the People's Liberation Army and so that they would be able to function and produce as soon as the People's Liberation Army arrived. After a few other guests and delegates made short speeches, the Congress was closed with the singing of The Internationale.

The Leading Personnel of the China National Union of Trade Unions (CNUU)

21. The first Executive Committee Meeting of the China National Union of Trade Unions was held on 10 October 1948. The Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Executive Committee were elected and the membership and position of the Standing Committee, which has 15 members and 6 alternates, was voted on. The following were elected:

Executive Committee: Chairman: CH'EN Yun Vice-Chairmen: LI Li-san
LIU Ning-i
CHU Hsueh-fan

Standing Committee:⁷

CH'EN Yun	LI Li-san
CH'EN Yu	LIU Ning-i
LIN Ch'iang	TS'AI Ch'ang
HSU Chih-chen	FENG Wen-pin
LIU Ch'ang-sheng	YI Li-jung
T'ANG Yun-shao	CHU Hsueh-fan
CHANG Wei-chen	LI Hsieh-po (LI Chia-po, LI Chi-po)
CHU Chun-hsin	

Alternate Members:

KAO Lin	SUN Hsueh-chih
K'ANG Yung-ho	T'ANG Kuei-fen
CROU Ying	SU Tsai-wen ⁸

All the above members of the Standing Committee are members of the Executive Committee as well. See paragraph 24.

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22. The first meeting of the Standing Committee of the China National Union of Trade Unions was held on 20 October 1948. The following persons were chosen to hold posts in the CNUU:

Secretary-General of the CNUU: LI Hsieh-po
 Chairman, Organization Department: LIN Ch'iang-yun
 Chairman, Cultural and Education Department: HSU Chih-chen
 Chairman, Production Department: CH'EN Yu
 Chairman, Labor Security Department: T'ANG Yun-ch'ao
 Chairman, Juvenile Workers' Department: FENG Wen-pin
 Chairman, Women Workers' Department: TS'AI Ch'ang
 Chief, International Liaison Department: LIU Ning-i
 Chief of the Secretariat: P'ENG Kuang-wei⁹
 Chairman, Private Enterprise Committee: CHANG Wei-chen
 Chairman, Operations Committee for KMT-Controlled Areas: CHU Hsueh-fan
 Vice-Chairman: CHU Chun-hsin
 Members: KAO Lin, YEH Wei-min, LI Ch'i-hsin

23. The Presidium of the Sixth All-China Labor Congress: Name List and Identification

CHANG Chin-pao (張金保), well known CCP woman labor leader and former Chief of the Woman's Labor Department of the former China National General Labor Union of the CCP.
 CHANG Pu-lin (張福林), an old miner of Tsaochuang (曹莊), Shantung, and Vice-Chairman of the Shantung General Labor Union.
 CHANG P'ing (章萍), Chief of the Delegation of the Hopei-Chahar-Jehol-Liaoning Employees and Laborers; Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Establishment of the Hopei-Chahar-Jehol-Liaoning General Labor Union.
 CHANG Wei-chen (張維楨), Chairman of the Employees' and Laborers' Joint Union of Harbin Municipality.
 CHIAO Chan-k'uei (趙占魁), "Superior Class Labor Hero" (T'ie Teng Lao Tung Ying Hsiung 特等勞動英雄), of the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Area; he has been "rewarded" for special accomplishments in "socialist" labor.
 CH'EN Yu (陳郁), well-known CCP labor leader and an alternate of the Chinese Communist Party; he is a former Comintern member and considered the "right-hand man" of CH'EN Yun.
 CH'EN Yun (陳雲), presently a member of both the Central Executive Committee and the Central Politburo of the CCP; he was at one time an apprentice in the Shanghai Commercial Press; he received training in the USSR after the Communist Long March and returned to China during the war against the Japanese, at which time he worked in Sinkiang in liaison with Soviet officials before becoming Chief of the Organization Department of the CCP Central Committee in about 1939; he was a former Comintern member; he was at one time Chairman of the (Chinese Communist) National Soviet Labor Union, a Comintern-sponsored organ formed in about 1932 and the predecessor of the Liberated Areas Labor Union.
 CH'EN Chih-tao (錢志道), a chemical engineer; he is the Chief of the Northeast Military Chemical Engineering Main Factory.
 CHOU Ch'ing (周青), representative of the Tientsin "Democratic" Labor Union (underground).
 CHU Hsueh-fan (朱學範), Chairman of the China Labor Association which was a Kuomintang organization until CHU fled and went to Harbin via Paris; he is also a vice-chairman of the CFTU.
 TAO Ch'ang-chiu (高長久), Chairman of the Northeast Arsenal Laborers' General Union; he was formerly Chairman of the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Area General Labor Union.
 KAO Lin (高林), Chairman and representative of the South China "Democratic" Labor Union (underground).
 LI Ch'i-hsin (李啓新), representative of the Wuhan (cities) "Democratic" Labor Union (underground).
 LI Chieh-po (李頌伯), well-known CCP labor leader; he is a member of the Central Labor Committee of the CCP and Secretary General of the Preparatory Committee of both the Liberated Area Employees' and Laborers' Joint Union and the Sixth All-China Labor Congress.

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LI Hsien (李仙), an old arsenal laborer of Taiyuan, Shansi; he is the Chairman of the Taihangshan (太行山 Shansi) Employees' and Laborers' Joint Union.

LI Li-san (李立三), well-known CCP labor leader and member of both the Central Executive Committee and the Northeast Central Bureau of the CCP.

LI Lien-shan (李蓮山), representative of the Peiping-Hankow Railway Area General Labor Union.

LI Ming-che (李明哲), Chairman of the Northeast Railroad Labor Union.

LIANG Yung-fu (梁永福), an outstanding laborer of the Cheng-t'ai Railroad, Shansi (正太鐵路).

LIAO Sau-kuang (廖似光), Director of the Board of the China Labor Association headed by CHU Hsueh-fan.

LIN Ch'iang-yun (林鏘雲), a former Comintern member and leader of labor movements in Kwangtung; he is a representative of the employees and laborers of the Kwangtung-Kwangsi Liberated Area.

LIU Ch'i-shou (劉啓壽), a "Superior Class Meritorious Statesman" (T'ie Teng Kung Ch'en 特等功臣) and an outstanding laborer of the Department of Ordnance of the Northeast Liberated Area.

LIU Ning-i (劉寧一), well-known CCP labor leader and Chairman of both the Liberated Area Employees' and Laborers' Joint Union and of the Preparatory Committee of the Sixth All-China Labor Congress; he has been a member of the Board of Directors of the WFTU since 1946 when he replaced Comintern member TENG Fa, deceased.

LIU Pao-shan (劉寶山), an old potterer and Chief of the Delegation of the Antung (Manchuria) Employees and Laborers.

LIU Ying-yuan (劉英源), "Labor Hero" of the Harbin Municipal Power Plant and a member of the Executive Committee of the Harbin General Labor Union.

SUI Chen-tung (隋振東), a "Labor Hero" of the Hokang (鶴崗) Coal Mine in the Northeast.

SUN Hao-ch'ing (孫好清), a "Labor Hero" of the First Industry and Mining Department of the Northeast.

SUN Yu-hui (孫玉惠), an old miner of T'angshan (唐山) and Chairman of the Shansi-Chahar-Hopei General Labor Union.

T'ANG Kuei-fen (湯桂芬), woman labor leader of Shanghai, influential in weaving-mill strikes, and a representative of the Shanghai "Democratic" Labor Union (underground).

T'ANG Yun-ch'ao (唐韻超), well-known CCP labor leader in the Northeast.

TS'AI Ch'ang (蔡暢), well-known CCP woman labor leader and a member of both the Central Executive Committee and Central Women's Committee of the CCP; she is a former Comintern member and is a vice-chairman of the WFDW (World Federation of Democratic Women).

WANG Ch'un (王羣), Chief of the Delegation of the South Liaoning (遼南) Employees and Laborers.

WANG Yueh-hsuan (王月軒), a "Model Worker" of the Hsiaofengman (Manchuria) Power House.

YANG K'ai-lin (楊開林), old technician who is a specialist in repairing arms for the People's Liberation Army; he is the Assistant Chief of the Shansi-Suiyuan Department of Ordnance (Chun Kung Pu 軍工部).

24. The Executive Committee of the China National Union of Trade Unions: Name List and Identification: (Names listed in paragraph 22 are not further identified here.)

CHANG Ch'i (張琪), an active member of the employees' and laborers' movement.

CHANG Chin-pao

CHANG Fu-lin

CHANG Wei-chen

CHAO Chan-k'uei

CHAO Kuo-ch'iang (趙國強), Vice-Chairman of the Shansi-Hopei-Shantung-Monan Border Area General Labor Union.

CH'EN Hsiu-shan (陳秀山), a "responsible official" of the Liaoning employees' and laborers' movement; he was formerly Chairman of the Hupeh Provincial Labor Union.

CH'EN Yu

CH'EN Yun, Chairman.

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CHEN Yung-tien (甄榮典) (also pronounced CHEN Jung-tien), "Labor Hero" of the Shansi-Hopei-Shantung-Honan Border Area and member of the Border Area Council.

CH'EN Chih-tao

CH'IU Chin (丘金), member of the Shansi-Chahar-Hopei Liberated Area labor movement; formerly a responsible official of the Shanghai Seamen's Union.

CHOU Ying (周穎), member of the Operations Committee (Kung Tso Wei Yuan Hui 工作委員會) of the China Labor Association; she is a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee and Chairman of the Hong Kong-Kowloon Women's Association.

CHU Chih-ch'eng (祝志澄), Secretary-General of the Head Office of the Hsin Hua News Agency; he was former Secretary-General of the Chieh Fang Jih Pao.

CHU Chun-hsin (朱俊欣), one of the "responsible officials" of the Shanghai Electric Power and Engineering Labor Union (underground).

CHU Hsueh-fan, Vice-Chairman.

FENG Shen (馮 榮), a representative from South China; one of the former "responsible officials" of the Seamen's General Union.

FENG Wen-pin (馮文彬), a former Comintern member and presently Chairman of the Preparatory Committee of the Liberated Area Youth Federation.

HSIAO Ts'ai-feng (蕭彩峰), Chairman of the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Area General Labor Union.

HSU Hung (徐 紅), a member of the Operations Committee of the China Labor Association.

HSU Ping (徐 平), Chairman of the Peiping-Suiyuan Railroad General Labor Union.⁸

HSU Chih-chen (許之楨), head⁹ of the Hopei-Chahar printing presses, he was formerly a responsible official of the Han Yeh P'ing (漢冶萍) General Labor Union. (Han Yeh P'ing is the name of the steel plant in Hanyang.)

K'ANG Yung-ho (康永和), former Chairman of the Shansi General Labor Union.

KAO Lin

KAO Ch'ang-chiu

KU Liang (顧亮), Chief of the Organization Section of the Shanghai Labor Association (Shang Hai Kung Jen Hsieh Hui Tsu Chih K'o 上海工人協會組織部).

KUO Huan-wen (郭煥文), a "responsible official" of the China Labor Association.

LI Ch'iang (李 強), Chinese Communist Party radio expert.

LI Hsieh-po, Secretary-General of the CNUU.

LI Li-san, Vice-chairman.

LI Ming-che

LIANG Kuang (梁 廣), a member of the employees' and laborers' movement in Kwangtung; he was formerly Chief of the Youth Department of the South China Office of the China National General Labor Union.

LIAO Sau-kuang

LIN Ch'iang-yun

LIU Ch'ang-sheng (劉長勝), leader of the employees' and laborers' movement of Central China and a member of the Central Executive Committee of the CCP; formerly he was a "responsible official" of the Northwest Executive Bureau (Hsi Pei Chih Hsing Chu 西北執行局) of the former China National General Labor Union.

LIU Ning-i, Vice-chairman.

LIU Ta-ch'ao (劉大超), leader of the employees' and laborers' movement in Kwangtung; former "responsible official" of the Hong Kong Seamen's Union.

LIU Ying-yuan

MA Ch'un-ku (馬純古), a leader of the employees' and laborers' movement.

MA Hui-chih (馬輝之), Chairman of the Shansi-Chahar-Hopei Border Area General Labor Union.

SHEN Hung (沈鴻), outstanding mechanical engineer of the Shansi-Chahar-Hopei Industry Bureau (Kung Yeh Chu 工業局).

SU T'ing-yu (粟廷煜), Vice-chairman of the Shihchiachuang Trade Union.

SUN Hsueh-chih (孫學之), Chairman of the Shantung Provincial Labor Union.

SUNG Hsin-huai (宋新懷), a "responsible official" of the employees' and laborers' movement in Liaoning Province; he was formerly Chief of the Youth Department of the Executive Bureau of the Soviet Area (Su Ch'u Chih Hsing Chu Ch'ing Nien Pu 蘇區執行局青年部).¹⁰

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TIANG Kuei-fen
 TIANG Yun-ch'ao
 TS'AI Ch'ang
 TS'AI Shu-pin (蔡樹彬), a "responsible official" of the Chung Yuan (中原) Liberated Area Labor Union.¹¹
 WANG Kuang-ch'i (王光啓), one of the "responsible officials" of the China Labor Association.
 WU K'ien (吳堅), "Standing Executive Secretary" of the Kiangsu Labor Union.
 WU Te (吳德), leader of the Hopei-Chahar-Jehol-Liaoning labor movement; he was a former committee member of the North China Office of the China National General Labor Union.
 YANG Chih-hua (楊之華), outstanding woman labor leader.
 YI Li-jung (易禮容), Secretary-General of the China Labor Association and Acting Chairman of the Board of Directors of the same Association.

25. The Reserve Members of the Executive Committee: Name List and Identification

CHANG En-te (張恩德), a member of the Executive Committee of the Harbin Municipal General Labor Union and a "Labor Hero" of the Railroad Administration (T'ieh Lu Chu 鐵路局) in Harbin.
 CHANG P'ing (章萍), Chief of the Delegation of the Hopei-Chahar-Jehol-Liaoning Employees' and Laborers' Movement¹² and Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Establishment of the Hopei-Chahar-Jehol-Liaoning General Labor Union.
 CHAO Lin (趙敏), a leader of the labor movement of the Chung Yuan (Honan) Liberated Area; he was formerly Chairman of the Central China General Labor Union.
 CHAO Tzu-wen (趙子溫), Vice Chairman of an underground labor union in South China.
 CH'EN Chuah (陳爵), one of the responsible officials of the Chauffeurs' Labor Union of the China Labor Association.
 CH'EN Hui-ch'ing (陳慧清), a leader of women laborers in North China.
 CH'EN Hai-hua (錢海華), Chairman of an underground labor union in South China.
 CH'EN Hsia-min (錢夏民), a member of the Operations Committee of the China Labor Association.
 HAN Wu-ch'eng (韓武成), Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Shanghai Department Store Labor Union.
 LI Chia-ch'i (李家齊), Secretary of the Postal Service Employees' and Laborers' Union (underground).
 LI Ch'i-hsin (李啓新), representative of the Wuhan "Democratic" Labor Union (underground).
 LI Feng-lien (李鳳蓮), "Labor Heroine" of the Shansi-Kansu-Singhsia Border Area; "chief woman laborer of an Army Uniform Factory."¹³
 LI Huai-ying (李懷英), member of the Operations Committee of the China Labor Association.
 LI Lien-shan (李連山), representative of the Peiping-Hankow Railway "Democratic" Labor Union (underground).
 LIANG Yung-fu (梁永福), outstanding laborer of the Cheng-T'ai Railroad (Shansi Province).
 OU-YANG Tau-jun (歐陽祖潤), Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Establishment of the Shanghai (Communist) Labor Union; he was formerly an apprentice in the Shanghai Power Company.
 PAI Lin-k'ai (白林凱), a member of the Operations Committee of the China Labor Association.
 SUN Pi-chen (孫畢振), Vice Chairman of an underground labor union in South China.
 WANG Ch'ing-yuan (王慶元), former Chairman of the Chinese Laborers' General Union in France.
 YIH Wei-min (葉維民), member of the Operations Committee of the China Labor Association.

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26. Several aspects of the CNUTU definitely reflect Soviet influence and are possible evidence of Moscow connections and USSR direction:
- The similarity in organization and structure of the CNUTU with that of the Soviet Trade Union organization and structure is apparent from such things, among others, as the pyramidal structure and the "Democratic Centralized System," the authority and functions of the Executive Committee and Standing Committee, the use of "instructors" (trade union organizers and inspectors), etc.
 - The CCP has adopted the Soviet idea of "labor heroes" and "awards of merit."
 - As in the Soviet system, the CCP now includes all employees and laborers in its trade union set-up, that is, both manual and mental laborers; formerly this was not necessarily true of the CCP labor or trade union organization.
 - Like the Soviet goal, the aim of the Sixth All-China Labor Congress, the CNUTU and the CCP is to "combat American imperialism;" of course, the Chinese Communists will add "and the imperialism of the reactionary Kuomintang."
 - The powerful and influential CCP officials of the CNUTU are Party members, are Moscow trained and are former Comintern members; hence the CNUTU is not an organization dominated or controlled by "nationalist" Chinese Communists.
 - Liaison with Moscow and Soviet officials can be carried on by those CCP leaders going to the USSR or passing through Moscow to attend various international labor or trade union conferences such as those of the Soviet-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU). Several CCP officials of the CNUTU also hold positions in the WFTU.

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Comment. The number of CNUTU officials who are listed in this report and in CCP Chinese-language publications regarding the CNUTU as holding positions for various labor organizations for Shanghai is perhaps indicative of the preparation by the CCP for a take-over of Shanghai labor elements. Various reports from sources other than those of this report and various Chinese-language press articles have already given some information on the liaison, contact and "negotiations" going on between Shanghai labor leaders and trade union elements with officials of the CNUTU such as CHU Hsueh-fan, former Shanghai labor leader and Ch'ing Fang Secret Society "fraternity brother" of Shanghai labor czar TU Yuch-sheng.

1. Comment. Information for this report was gathered from a) various Chinese Communist publications, including English-language Chinese Communist publications such as the China Digest in Hong Kong, plus Chinese Communist Chinese-language publications in Hong Kong and some CCP Chinese-language publications filtering into Hong Kong from CCP-controlled areas of North China and Manchuria; b) interrogation of travelers from CCP-controlled areas of North China and Manchuria who come and go from Hong Kong as well as miscellaneous bits of information gathered from leftist and third party members in Hong Kong with good Communist contacts. Biographical information was supplied to a large degree by c) a well-educated Chinese philosopher and mathematician who was formerly a CCP member but left the Party in 1932.

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2. Comment. The word "all" was added to the title because by March 1948 there were more Liberated Areas than formerly.

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3. Comment. CCP publications in Hong Kong are perhaps naively honest in their presentation of such incidences as the "passing" of motions or proposals at the Congress; all CCP Chinese-language publications which have discussed or reported on the Sixth All-China Labor Congress simply state that such and such "was passed" (tung kuo ta hui) by the delegates attending." No mention is made of amendments, criticism, etc. by the minority.)

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- 25X1X 4 [REDACTED] Comment. The CNUTU is an enlargement of the former China National General Labor Union of the Chinese Communists which formerly considered other factors as well as group membership as a basis for membership and did not include or require "mental" labor to be organized into unions. It should be noted that "China National Union of Trade Unions" is but one of several possible translations of the Chinese name, "Chung Hua Ch'uan Kuo Tsung Kung Hui"(中華全國總工會). Other possible translations are: "China National General Labor Union," or "All-China Federation of Labor."
- 25X1X 5 [REDACTED] Comment. "Overseas Chinese" here means at least overseas Chinese Communists and so-called "democratic" Chinese overseas such as Democratic League members and other leftists.
- 25X1X 6 [REDACTED] Comment. The Chinese Communists' summarized English-language version of the resolutions adopted by the Sixth All-China Labor Congress was published in the CCP fortnightly China Digest, Vol. 5, No. 5, 28 December 1948. This English-language text does not give the specific date on which the resolutions were passed, simply stating that they were "passed in August 1948." The Chinese text given in The Trend of the Employee-Laborer Movement(職工運動的方向), a CCP publication put out by the Laborers' Cultural Society (工人文化出版社), indicates that they were passed on 1 August, which date does not coincide with the date given by Communist sources who have returned to Hong Kong from Manchuria. It is plain even from these publications that the formality of "passing" the resolutions did not take place on 1 August since that was the date set for the opening ceremony; these "slips" in printing the dates are further evidence that all was prepared ahead of time and that the Congress itself acted primarily as a rubber stamp.
- 25X1X 7 [REDACTED] Comment. According to one source, all of the following members of the Standing Committee are CCP members and were members of the Comintern: CH'EN Yu, CH'EN Yun, FENG Li-jung, HSU Chih-chen, LI Hsieh-po, LI Li-san, LIN Ch'iang, TS'AI Ch'ang, LIU Ning-i, YI Li-jung.
- 25X1X 8 [REDACTED] Comment. SU is probably an additional Executive Committee member of the CNUTU chosen after the Sixth All-China Labor Congress.
- 25X1X 9 [REDACTED] Comment. P'ENG is probably an additional Executive Committee member and Standing Committee member of the CNUTU chosen after the Sixth All China Labor Congress; at least, according to the regulations of the CNUTU, he would have to be a member of these committees chosen by the Standing Committee.
- 25X1X 10 [REDACTED] Comment. It is not clear what "Soviet Area" refers to, whether it means the Kwantung Peninsula area or one of the former "Soviet" Areas; the CCP used the term, "Chinese Soviet Areas" in the 1926-1934 period.
- 25X1X 11 [REDACTED] Comment. The area is between Loyang and Chengchou, Honan.
- 25X1X 12 [REDACTED] Comment. The term, "movement," was not in the original reference, but it is assumed that this is the correct interpretation.
- 13 [REDACTED] Comment. The location of this factory has not been established.
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